



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

## AUSTRALASIAN MONROEISM

*By J. Macmillan Brown, LL.D., Vice Chancellor of Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand*

### I. THE NARROWING WORLD HAS AT LAST BROUGHT EAST AND WEST FACE TO FACE

#### *1. Introduction*

Mankind is faced with a new situation that will dominate future history. There is a growing subconsciousness that the world is about to become too narrow for its population; it was not apparent in the nineteenth century; for the vast expansion of the horizon of the known world that had begun in the sixteenth century had just been completed and the process of filling up the empty spaces of the newly discovered or newly-explored continents seemed far from completion. The modern development of cheap and rapid ocean transit brought the long separated races and cultures face to face with one another; and they began to realize the great differences in conditions that time and environment had bred and the opportunities the exploitation of these offered for quicker approach to competence or wealth. The wanderlust, which had affected only the seafaring races of the Western world since the formation of empires had arrested the natural nomadism of the primeval world, began to stimulate long sedentary peoples to oceanic migration. And once this was reawakened widely in the breast of mankind, some of the awkward results, now that the world is so full, began to appear and to indicate the dangerous possibilities of the movement of peoples under the stimulus, if left uncontrolled. Without limitations, it might become a torrent that would destroy the culture-accumulations that civilization had achieved.

The danger did not become apparent till the white race had reached the Pacific Ocean in large numbers and begun

to develop its coasts. The great Oriental market across it stimulated steam traffic, and it was forgotten that marketing must be reciprocal in its movements and influences, if not in its marketeers. The twentieth century has begun to realize how serious the accumulation of half the population of the world on the east and southeast coasts of Asia has made the reciprocity of labor and the goods it can produce. If free entrance is acceded to the swarms across the ocean, the submergence of the white race in the lands that coast the Pacific is only a question of time.

*2. The conflict of standards of living became a conflict of color*

One of the first of the Pacific Ocean peoples to raise its voice on the question was the young democracy of Australia. It bordered on the Malay Archipelago and was not far from India and Indo-China. But it was not this proximity that stimulated the outcry; it was the still farther removed China. When the gold-fever drew the bulk of labor away to the goldfields, Chinese labor was introduced from Singapore, Hongkong and Canton. Sections of it followed to the diggings and gleaned where the white man had reaped, returning to China with the hundred to two hundred pounds that were to them a fortune. But one section resumed in the cities the trades it had followed in the old home and found them even more profitable than gold-seeking. When the fever abated and artisans returned to their old avocations they found the markets swamped with the products of their supplanters. There was no alternative but to accept the lower wages they saw in front of them or stop the influx of Oriental labor. It was not difficult to see that the latter was their only salvation. It became the most important item in the political program of the unions. And when the sugar planters of Queensland introduced the labor that was essential to their plantations from the neighboring islands, the ban was extended from the yellow man to the brown and black. The strictest precautions were taken by the government to prevent abuses as seemed

inevitable in indenturing primitive peoples. But it was cheap labor and that had no other meaning than the lowering of the white artisan's standard of living. A color-line became the slogan of the labor party. And when the Japanese came down in numbers to earn the handsome wages that were necessary to draw divers to the pearling industry on the north coast the slogan was raised again, though color no longer meant cheap labor. The industry had to move its center from Australia to the Aru Islands away to the north.

*3. Yet it remains fundamentally a conflict of standards*

The ideal of a white Australia arose out of what seems the sordid but everlasting wage struggle. It has practically been adopted by all political parties, and a moment's thought will disclose the reasons for the universal adoption of such an ideal, although it involves no scorn of color. It is really a question of standards of life, economical, social, political, ethical. For thousands of years, probably from early neolithic times, certainly since the rise of empires in the near east, the Orient and the Occident have been developing apart and generally on different lines. Central Asia with its irregularly alternating periods of irrigated fertility and people-scattering aridity sends out great waves of migration that naturally take the most open route to other lands fertile enough to plunder or to live upon; the southern route into India is closed by the Himalayas, except for the narrow passes that demand an organized army to force them; the western route across the steppes has generally been taken by a plundering, conquering army; the eastern route through Dzungaria and Mongolia is often a route of plunder and conquest, but, because of its length into the regions worth plundering, oftener, a route of migrants seeking peaceful settlement. And when the way northwards and eastwards into America was closed by too Arctic conditions and the close stepping stones of the east coast down into the tropics of the Pacific had sunk and left a way open only to seafarers, there was nothing for it but to settle down on the

rich flats formed by the Hoangho and Yangtse, already fully occupied. It is this that has so congested China and left her victim to the discipline of famine, flood, and plague; it is this that has brought the standard of living so low, has made the social life of the east so different from the west, has kept the status of woman almost on the level of primitive peoples, has made the ideals of truth and search for reality so difficult of attainment and rendered absolute monarchy the only way to organization and unification.

#### *4. Japan's anomalous position*

Such standards of life can never hybridize with those of the west, especially in the new and democratic communities that face the Pacific Ocean. And it is especially the economic standard that urges the coastal Chinese on to the sea and, now that oceanic transit is so easy, on to other lands where the existence of a higher standard makes them the masters of the labor market. It is somewhat different with Japan. Its insular position makes it more independent of those fluctuations of population eastwards and less subject to these disciplinary phenomena, famine and plagues. Yet it has the same standards, economic, social, political and ethical, which makes its people, even if they had not a different language, history, and traditions, incapable of amalgamating with any community of Occidental descent, whilst its maritime position, once its policy of isolation was abandoned, gives its people that tendency to go abroad which a land-people get only from the migrant pressure from behind. Not that Japan itself has its population-bearing area fully developed; there is little over twelfth of its area cultivated. It is true that it is mountainous; but there are vast areas of gentle slopes that in Australia and New Zealand would, if they were now turned into tith, carry millions of sheep and cattle; and these are covered with the tall thick-stemmed bamboo-grass, unfit for animal food. And even now that industries have been largely developed, the country can by no means be described as congested in the sense that some of the countries

of Europe are, or even parts of China or India. It may be said that she has the control of large areas of the continent but in Manchuria, Korea and Shantung, Japanese emigrants have to compete with labor and trade that have greater efficiency and a lower standard of living than their own at home. What draws them abroad into lands occupied by Europeans is the disparate standards; they can live on so little compared with their competitors and their superior industry and thrift soon render them independent and masters of the situation.

*5. Is the tropical northern Australian territory unsuited to European colonization?*

The great empty spaces of Australia are often referred to as a menace to her security, and as a pendent and contrast to the hundreds of millions of Orientals only a few days' sail from her northern coast. But it is forgotten that the Orientals have no yearning for empty spaces in any land and make no move towards them. What they want is well-developed country with markets ready for their labor or produce or manufactures. If they were admitted into the Northern Territory it would not be long before they had all filtered through into the towns of the east and southeast coasts or their neighborhoods. It is more a pastoral region than almost any other part of the isolated continent and the only Orientals that would be in any way fitted for its occupation would be the nomads of the great steppes and plateaus; but the Kirghiz would be the last people likely to migrate across oceans to other lands.

Then it is generally assumed that the European, and especially the Anglo-Saxon, would be unsuited to the tropics and should give place to Oriental peoples in the unoccupied regions of Australia. But the southern Chinese and the peoples of India and Indo-China have been rendered by traditions and history incapable of any but close settlement even in the tropics. And as for the Japanese they have been accustomed to a climate that is as little tropical as that of England. It is the narrow coastal belt of the north that is

unhealthy for Europeans; the plateau of the interior is as healthy and as suited for Anglo-Saxon colonists as the sub-tropical region to the south of it. And it is still a highly disputable question whether the often repeated assertion that the peoples of the northwest of Europe when settled in the tropics die out in one or two generations is true or not. The late Colonel Woodruff in his *Effects of Tropical Light on White Men* did his best to convince the world that it is true. But just before his death I called his attention to the fact that in Kissa a little island six miles by four about seven degrees south of the equator and about the same distance north of the northernmost point of Australia there was a laboratory experiment that proved the opposite. There I met 300 of the descendants of eight Dutch soldiers who had been sent to it in 1665 by the Netherlands East India Company to build forts and keep the Portuguese of Timor from poaching upon the spice preserves of Banda and Amboyna; they were forgotten; but fortunately they had their Dutch wives with them and their descendants were discovered there two centuries later. On my visit in 1912 I found the bulk of the children with the blue eyes and blond hair of their forefathers, though their complexions grew later in life as dark as those of central Italians. They had forgotten their Dutch in learning the language of the Indonesian natives; but they had not abandoned their Protestantism or their fertility; children swarmed and ten or a dozen seemed to be the average family. Tropical light or heat had done nothing to abate the energy or health that the cold winters of their original fatherland had developed in their ancestry. What had kept them undegenerate was their hard environment. Kissa is a raised atoll without the rich vegetation of the northern series of Indonesian islands; and they had to work if they were going to live. Two centuries and a half of the tropics had not left them the wrecks that the descendants of Europeans who have remained in tropical regions are usually painted. The only recipe for the millenium is hard work; an idle heaven is an annex of hell.

## II. AUSTRALASIA AND THE PROBLEM OF ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION

### *1. The leaders of labor blind to the self-contradictions of their policy*

Unfortunately the labor party in Australasia believe the contrary of the doctrine expressed at the close of the last paragraph; led by the Marxian extremists, they are taught to demand higher and higher wages and less and less work, and to look upon "go slow" as the high road to happiness, although in their heart of hearts the rank and file have no faith in the new creed; as the ballot box results have often shown. But the most singular anomaly in the labor program is that all schemes of national defence are condemned. How they are going to fence off the floods of cheap labor from the East by force without the barrier of an army and navy they have never explained. It was they who originated the White Australia policy that bars the door against Oriental immigration and the competition of the Oriental market with the Australasian. They seem never to have realized it was the British navy that made this possible and the moment it is defeated the sluice-gates of the east will open and pour into their labor market limitless torrents of cheap labor. If they had, they would never have defeated conscription in Australia or done their best to hamper and hamstring volunteering throughout Australasia during the war. Their Marxian leaders are pacifists to a man; but how they are to reconcile pacifism and forcible exclusion of all colored or cheap labor is a problem they have not attempted to solve. They live in a fool's paradise in failing to see the origin and stimulus of Indian unrest and the cue for the growth of the Japanese navy. The utterances of Gandhi and the Japanese demand in the Peace Conference for a pronouncement on race equality might have taught them how much was due to resentment of the very doctrine embodied in their own policy.



2. *"Sane labor" and its blind guides, the Marxians*

But the logic and ethics are all of apiece with the Marxian program of the labor extremists. How Australia is to be independent of the British empire and yet have its protection from aggressive resentment never troubles them, just as many other self contradictory illusions that naturally spring from their central fallacy never troubles them. How men are going to work and save when their earnings and savings are not to be theirs but to belong to an abstract entity at a distance which may call itself "soviet," "state," "government" or any other of a hundred traditional names for it; how man is to continue man and fight against the wrecking emergencies of nature when capital and saving now in order to equip him with tools and improvements to meet the chances of what is coming are condemned as criminal; how a community is to fit itself with the peaceful talents, professional, progressive, far-seeing and far reaching that lead it to higher levels of health, physical and spiritual, when the *bourgeoisie* or class that saves not merely money but the accumulations of culture and wisdom for the sake of posterity and is thus the chief fountain of those talents is to be annihilated; how a state is going to function for a community if the individual cells that form and give life to the body politic, the families, are to be condemned and obliterated; how a world-state can be established and live without vigorous and healthy sub-states with their individual patriotisms to give it life and being; these and a score of other self-contradictions that are the outcome of their policy have never been faced by the extremist leaders of Australasian labor. And in practice they have taught the unions to oppose all reduction of wages when they know that without such reduction a business must be run at a loss and to demand that the public must subsidize it by paying higher prices for the commodity produced. The ancient common sense that had crystallized into fables and proverbs has been jettisoned; they mean both to eat their cake and have it, to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs and still have the regular supply. So persistent has been this abandonment

of all rationality amongst the Marxian leaders that it has become a commonplace of newspapers and conversation to speak of those whom they try to mislead as sane labor.

When the ballot-box gives protection from the despotic and persecuting methods of the extremists sane labor expresses its opinion; and vigorous representatives of common-sense like Mr. Hughes, the premier of the Commonwealth and Mr. Massey the premier of New Zealand are kept in power. And they are strong not only for a white Australia and a white New Zealand, but for strong defensive measures to make it sure and for inclusion in the British Empire. They feel that behind them stands firmly all educated opinion including that of sane labor. And both have gone to the Imperial Conference firmly resolved that nothing in the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, if it is to be renewed, must endanger their ideal of a white Australia and friendship with America.

### *3. Alien intrusions into the body-politic*

Peaceful penetration of Orientals looks harmless, because it is peaceful. But it means the intrusion of an unassimilable element into the body-politic. They bring their own standards of life, economic, social, ethical and political, separated by ten thousand years of isolated evolution from European; they bring their own language and their own spiritual ideals; these may be quite as high as the European and in many points are even higher; but they are so different that the two will not amalgamate. An occasional individual might ultimately be assimilated. But bodies of such foreign nationals gather into communities and remain foreign bodies; like splinters or bullets that have buried themselves in the flesh, they have got to be extracted; else they produce constant inflammation and suppuration. And when behind such bodies there are powerful militarized governments to insist on their rights and their permanence in the body politic, the position is still more dangerous. It is worse than if organized military penetration were attempted; for that at once stirs up patriotism to active protective

measures. Peaceful penetration by communities coming from a strong, ambitious, highly-militarized nation is the most menacing of all because it is insidious and unnoticed till it has gained strength.

It is this consideration, doubtless, that has made the premier of the Commonwealth so strongly insist on the exclusion of Orientals even from the tropical territories that have been handed over under mandate to Australia. Once admitted into New Guinea they would soon filter through in numbers into northern Australia and thence into the more populous parts. Even in New Zealand, a country naturally fitted for immigrants from the temperate zone and especially from the northwest of Europe, there has recurred recently an influx of Indians from Fiji, some on their way home to India but many intending to settle in Auckland. And there has arisen a considerable outcry against the immigration, chiefly perhaps on the part of those whose craft or trade is injured by their competition. If more enter it will soon become a political warcry. However equitable it may seem to allow the people of India to penetrate into the parts of the British Empire, there will be no tolerance of such a permission on the part of the dominions that are fitted only for Europeans. The example of Natal, which has allowed a large inflow of immigrants from India much to the detriment of white labor and trade is a sufficient warning.

New Zealand has little to fear from Oriental immigration unless it be from Japan or the north of China; the climate is unsuited to tropical peoples and, if they came in any number, it would ensure their disappearance within a generation. The few hundred Chinese that are still within its borders are from Hongkong and Canton and are not increasing, even though the high polltax does not prevent a small annual infiltration. They are chiefly market gardeners and fruit sellers and laundry men and their tradition of intensive cultivation and their great industry and frugality enable them easily to hold their own against all competition, whilst their small and slightly decreasing numbers leave no room for any fear that they may become

a menace to Anglo-Saxon civilization. Few or no Japanese have settled in the country, in spite of the similarity of its climate to that of Japan.

It is different with Australia; the admission of Orientals is always a vital question; for half the country is within the tropics or close to them, and it is well suited to the peoples of the south and southeast of Asia. But no practical cordon could ever be drawn across as broad a continent confining the tropical immigrants to tropical parts; even where the country is narrow from sea to sea, such a prohibition line would be impracticable. There is no midway between free country and absolute prohibition of tropical labor, and free entry means the ultimate submergence of the white race.

#### 4. *"White Australia" a vital question*

Of course it is beginning to be realized that such a prohibition means capacity to enforce it; and with a teeming East across the Indian Ocean and an ever-narrowing world it is bound to be challenged some time in the future, when Oriental powers become conscious of their strength. This means the struggle between the east and the west in the Pacific Ocean in order to settle which ideal of life and which standards of life shall dominate.

By that time it is hoped Australia will be full and New Zealand will be the strong maritime shield that her oceanic situation indicates. The only disconcerting elements are the divisions and hatreds that the late war has left amongst Western nations and the class hatred that Marxian labor leaders are trying to sow within the nations themselves. As far as the birth rate is concerned it is higher than any in Europe, and though much lower than that of Japan, the death rate is still lower; so that in the years immediately before the war Australia's increase by the difference between the birthrate and the deathrate was 20 per cent more than that of Japan. It is her long distance from Europe that handicaps her in the race for population; and yet her numbers increased in the decade before the war at

double the rate that those of Japan did. Perhaps the new restrictions on immigration into the United States that Congress has enacted may turn the tide of European migrants to Australia. But it is an agricultural, pastoral and mining current that she especially needs and it is British immigrants that she most desiderates. New Zealand has by no means as difficult a problem. She is so like the northwest of Europe in her climate, configuration and maritime position that she will always remain, what she has predominantly been, the natural home of the Anglo-Saxon in the southern hemisphere.